Other members of the respective families also rise to give their advice. All of them must then offer the couple a number of presents. Once the mashikulo are over, the married couple is taken back to their hut for the love-feast /kusonsha/. 585

Kusonsha (love-feast). Back at the hut, the big banquet begins. A piece of chicken gizzard /kanondo/ is placed on the husband's mouth and then thrown away. A second piece of gizzard, dipped in gravy, is then given to the husband, who eats it this time. The same ceremony is repeated for the wife. Two bwali (thick gruel) have been prepared, one by the husband's mother, the other by the wife's mother, and they are exchanged as a sign of affection. Everyone then starts to eat a great deal, except for the married couple. The latter will not leave their hut for the rest of the day. They do this in honor of the wedding. The people say: "Bali mu mfundwe."

For the husband this wife is called the "kapundu." If she happend to die, and the widower wished to marry another nubile girl, the ceremony would be simplified. There would be no offering of wedding presents /mashikulo/. A pagan chief who may marry several wives, would go through this ceremony only with his first wife /kapundu/, who would become the "mukolo" when the chief started to take other wives who are called "mwinga." 581 587

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

A man helps his sister and her children by cutting them gardens or giving them uncooked food, but not by inviting them to share in the daily meals.

The men's group based on the matrilocal system is smaller and less closely knit. Between the sons-in-law attached to one household there is a feeling of close friendship and familiarity. These young men eat and work together, and the term *Ciufi munandi*, 'the man who married with me', or into the same family, is one of affection and good fellowship. There are no taboos between a man and his wife's sisters. He laughs and jokes with them because he may one day marry them, and he works in their gardens if they need help. But the young husbands often come from different villages and clans, and will want, as soon as they can, to have gardens of their own and perhaps to take their wives back to their villages. In the same way there may be co-operation from time to time between an old man and one of his own young kinsmen, such as his grandson or maternal nephew, but these also come and go, marry in other villages, and get work with Europeans. This group does not remain in close association throughout life as do the women of the matrilocal group, whether the latter remain in the same village or not.[1] This fact has important bearings at the present time. Though the unit of male labour is often non-existent, with the absence of so many of the men at the mines, the domestic and gardening economy of the women remains for the most part intact, and there seems no doubt that women deserted for months or even years by their husbands are more happily placed in a matrilocal community than in a patrilocal one.[2]

The Value of the Cooking Team.

The practical results of this type of domestic economics should be considered, since it is apparently one that is likely to change

[1] One legal case concerned a young married woman, one of six sisters, real or classificatory, who had lived in the same village and worked so happily together that when her husband removed her to his own village after the necessary years of service, she could not bear to live away from her family. The contrast between the cheerful female group in her own village and her relative isolation in her husband's community was too great. She ran back home for the third time during my stay at the village (Pambalasa, 1930). Divorce was the final result. Such a case is an extreme instance of the female solidarity which is so marked in a matrilocal tribe of this kind.

[2] Dr. Margaret Read confirms this on the basis of a comparative study between the patrilocal Ngoni and the matrilocal Chewa of Nyasaland.

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

562 ancestral shrines. They are also the potential mothers of future
644 chiefs and provide their brothers' heirs. Senior princesses stride in
622 and out of their brothers' royal enclosures, advise them, hector them and borrow their things. The senior wives of chiefs are also
[789] honoured highly since they hold in their charge the royal fire and they can, by their conduct, destroy or maintain the supernatural powers of the chief. They are thus able at any time to 'spoil the land'.

562 In courts of law women can plead their own cases; this is most unusual in the patrilineal societies to the south. When contracting their first marriage they are under the control of their fathers' and their mothers' brothers, but they are fairly free to contract second
[587 marriages at their own wish. They are certainly able to break a
586] marriage contract with much greater ease than women in patrilineal Bantu societies who pass under the control of their husband's patrilineage on the transfer of cattle at marriage, and divorce is rather frequent in this society. Bemba women have the reputation on the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia for being quite unmanageable by men of other tribes. Such men shrug their shoulders, raise their eyes to heaven and say 'These Bemba women! My word! They are fierceness itself'.

Compared to many patrilineal tribes, the Bemba women seem to have a high status. Parents welcome the birth of girls since they bring husbands into their village and build up its strength. Daughters become founders of new lines since the succession passes through them. When they first marry they are under the very definite authority of their relatives, but they are 'at home' whereas their husbands are outsiders from other villages. They have the support of their parents and may form part of a solid phalanx of married sisters, and they are therefore in an extremely strong position. As they become mothers and grandmothers their authority increases. Teknonymy is practised and women are called
[601] by the names of their sons or daughters with the female prefix 'na' On the birth of the first grandchild their name is changed to grandmother of so-and-so—this is a title of respect.[1] The Bemba woman is shy and submissive as a girl, but once a grandmother she

[1] E.g. Na-Kampamba = the mother of Kampamba;
Nakulu-Canda = the grandmother of the Canda.